

TAB

~~SECRET~~

8 October 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Intelligence

SUBJECT : Brief for Arms Control Negotiations
with Communist China

1. On 22 July Philip Farley, Acting Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, passed to us a paper prepared in response to a Department of State request to examine arms control subjects the U.S. might discuss with the Chinese Communists at Warsaw, asking for Agency comments on the draft. The paper was discussed by representatives of the State Department, the Pentagon, the NSC, and the Agency on 9 September, and as a result of this discussion the paper is being redrafted in NSSM format with no change in substance. This redraft should satisfy certain presentational problems outlined in paragraph 2 below. USACDA desires formal comments from the Agency by 15 October. Our recommendations are set forth in paragraph 5 below.

2. We had no trouble with the paper. In general, we find it thoughtful, well reasoned and long overdue. There are, however, certain improvements which can be made in terms of presentation. USACDA has set forth a number of approaches to the arms control problem as it relates to the Chinese Communists in pell mell order; these various proposals are not really a "package" and need not be dealt with as a seamless fabric. Moreover, the timing factor is likely to be an important one, and this problem is not dealt with in the paper as it now stands.

3. Of course we cannot be certain how exactly the Chinese will react to any or all of these proposals. Much will depend on context--on how the talks develop, on what

~~SECRET~~

*incorporated into
NSSM format
for Farley*

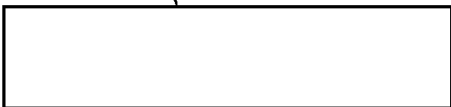
Basic

other subjects come under discussion and whether or not progress is made in dealing with them, and on how precisely the arms control issue is raised in the talks. These are at this point all imponderables, and it is therefore impossible to tell at this point if the Chinese will bite. It seems fairly certain, however, that they will be interested in most if not all of the proposals canvassed in this paper. We agree with Mr. Farley, acting director of USACDA, that the idea of mutual renunciation of force declaration is the most promising of the several proposals--with the proviso that it is presented in a bilateral, rather than a multilateral context. The idea of a Peking-Washington "hot line" might also be a one-shot, rather dramatic sweetener as an opening gambit.

4. We would tend to doubt that the idea of drawing Chinese scientists into a series of "private" arms control discussions similar to the Pugwash meetings of the mid-1950's is likely to go far. We do not believe that ideas discussed in such a forum would "percolate up" in China today. In addition, it is unlikely that Chinese scientists would be allowed to discuss disarmament matters with U.S. scientists unless a very high-level decision were made in Peking--and this in turn would depend on progress in the official talks. This seems to us the forum in which US ideas on arms control should be raised.

5. Apart from these minor caveats, we find the paper useful and concur in its thrust and in its conclusions insofar as they relate to the Chinese view of the problem, to Peking's likely reactions, and to the past history of the subject in the Sino-US context. On larger policy matters, of course, the Agency can take no position. We recommend the Agency concur in the paper.

25X1


Chief, China External Branch, FE/OCI

Recommendation contained in paragraph 5 is APPROVED:

Deputy Director for Intelligence

Date